1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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be retained. A southern Orokaiva would be indignant to hear himself described as Binandele or Mambare.

When Sir William MacGregor ascended the river Mambare in March 1894 he was greeted with cries of *Orokaiva!* from those who wished to be friendly. 'On the Mambare', he wrote, 'the password is "orokaiva", which seems to mean "man of peace". It, at all events, puts one on a friendly footing.'[1] Then apparently, as now, the native of the north was given to vociferous welcoming of his friends. Nowadays, when a party of travellers enters a village, men, women, and children will send up an irregular chorus of cries which may be almost deafening and disconcerting to a European, though it fails entirely to affect the *sangfroid* of a well-bred Papuan. Strangely enough the cry of *Orokaiva!* is heard now comparatively seldom. It has been supplanted by *Oro, oro!* which will be heard in almost every village.

It appears, however, that *Orokaiva!* was never the universal cry of the whole people. Different tribes had their distinctive cries of welcome. Among the Binandele it was commonly *Tepo Tepo!* which, as the word means 'empty' or in pidgin English 'for nothing', may be taken as a cry of reassurance from the villagers to their visitors. The conventional cry of the Aiga was *Javau javau!* with the second syllable of the word prolonged into a cacophonous shriek. Those who used it could give no interpretation of this startling mode of salutation. The 'Salt Water' People sometimes used the cries *Pesau!* and *Savesau!* I am told that at Bakumbari on the coast, for instance, visitors from the north would be hailed with *Pesau!* and those from the south with *Savesau!* and it was suggested that the former was the name of a certain fish, and that the latter meant 'swimmers', though in neither case was the appositeness of the words made at all clear. It is plain then that, prior to the coming of the whites, *Orokaiva!* was not universally used by the Binandele-speaking peoples.

The fact appears to be that the first explorers who penetrated the Mambare heard this cry, which they interpreted as one of peace or welcome, and accordingly took up as a

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 33.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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useful password. It is evident that they used it in prosecuting their explorations in parts where the cry was not even known, for an old man of the Aiga tribe told how on the first coming of the whites to his village they had entered shouting *Orokaiva, orokaiva!* and he, then a youngster, not knowing what they meant, had joined with the others in answering *Evari peka!* 'Sleep in peace!' To be short, however, the characteristic cry used by some of the people has been adopted as a name for all of them. Even now, it is true, a native of the north may refuse to acknowledge the appelation, and I know a diminutive armed constable who threatened assault on a Kiwai corporal solely because the latter had referred to him as an Orokaiva. But none of this need deter us from using what is a useful and happily chosen name.

The actual meaning of the word remains in doubt, though it is interesting to note that in modern speech it stands for native tobacco. Here again, however, a similar difficulty arises: is the name anterior to the coming of the whites, as some informants have maintained it is; or is it a comparatively modern transference of a name from the people to one of their distinctive possessions, viz. the inferior kind of tobacco? It may be worth adding that *oro* means 'men's house', and *kaiva*, a mysterious word, is the name of one of the principal kinds of taro.

Ethnic Neighbours

The ethnic neighbours of the Orokaiva may be briefly enumerated. (1) On the sea coast immediately to the south are a branch of the Okeina[1] who are in every respect closely akin to them. Beyond these are the Baruga people of the Bariji river who speak a different language and are culturally distinct, though generally similar in appearance. (2) In the Hydrographer Range and on the southern slopes of Mount Lamington are found the group of peoples commonly named 'Managalasi'. Between these and the Orokaiva the distinction is immediately apparent, not only in culture but also in physique. The Managalasi are as a rule lighter in

[1] Another group of this people occurs near Cape Nelson, North-Eastern Division.

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tives by marriage. Save for any untoward happening, therefore, the life of the family will fit into that of the clan.

It is only necessary to stress the point that the immediate family is recognized as a social unit; and the mere fact that a man sometimes quarrels with the members of his clan and migrates with his family or settles somewhere apart, proves that the family interest may compete with that of the clan. Both units are co-operative, the family especially in respect of the food quest, the clan in respect of ceremonies and feasts, and more importantly of fighting. The clan owns the garden land, but the family cultivates its own patch and reaps its own harvest. On the whole, since the clan displays a constant tendency to split into smaller groups of which the family is the nucleus, it is difficult to draw a line between the two. Yet for the same reason we may be right in saying that the family, as the indivisible unit, exerts the stronger hold.

Whatever the difficulty of deciding between these two, however, there can be no doubt that both of them, family and clan, mean more to the individual than does the tribe or the somewhat loose confederacy of clans within the tribe. A man's strongest sympathies certainly lie within the limits of the clan. Quarrels between families, i.e. within the clan, are inevitable, but they are easily adjusted. Not so the quarrels between clans themselves—land disputes and the like—which are prosecuted with great bitterness. Indeed, as sorcery cases show, it is almost invariably the stranger beyond the pale of the clan who is suspected. Any one within the clan is presumably a friend; any one without it is a potential enemy.

There is another kind of group-spirit with which the clan may have to contend, viz. that of locality. Once more the two are not frequently opposed. Often the village is occupied wholly by one clan, and in such a case the conflict could not arise. But when representatives of one clan (A) live in the village of another clan (B) (although the *modus vivendi* is usually satisfactory), there may arise the situation in which the clan (A) as a whole falls out with the clan (B). Witnesses have commonly assured me that a man would stand by his

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614 clan rather than his village in such a crisis, and this is no doubt usually the case, though I have two definite instances 621 in which the individuals fought on the side of their adopted villages against their own clans.

It is interesting to note that immigrants from other clans 166 into a village (e.g. those who for any reason become domi- 621 ciled among their wife's or their mother's people) are not 609 always readily assimilated. In one case that came to my notice a man of about thirty years, who had lived in a certain village since going there as an orphan child with his mother, fell out with his neighbours over a question of fishing rights, and was so cold-shouldered that he had to change his place of residence again.

614 It has been shown that the Orokaiva clan is usually a small unit, that it is often of comparatively recent origin, and that it often bears definitely the name of a founder and ancestor. From these facts it will be seen that its limits may hardly surpass those of kindred. There are many cases, those of scattered clans, where the kindred connexion is virtually lost sight of, but typically the clansmen may be said to be united by feelings of actual kinship. Where this is so, such feelings may be expected to prevail over any opposition from the locality spirit. However, as I have said, such a conflict seldom arises. To sum up, it may be repeated that the Orokaiva's strongest sympathies are limited to his own small clan and to his family within the clan.

Relationship Terms

601 The following is a list of the principal relationship terms. The speaker is a married man. The word for husband is *ivu*. This together with *ai* (wife), *mei* (son), and *iai* (daughter), is used in periphrasis when there are no set relationship terms, e.g. *tata-ivu, betere-ta-ai, simbo-ta-mei*.

mama father, father's brother, all males of the father's clan and generation; elders in general.

aja mother, mother's sisters, all females of the mother's clan and generation; elder women in general.

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XI

WARFARE

THE Orokaiva have had something of a reputation as a fighting people, though others no doubt could dispute their claim to the doubtful distinction of being the most savage in the Territory. The fame of the Orokaiva in this respect is probably due to the resistance, more than usually determined, which they made against the miners some thirty years ago; and it is certain that they have held a more independent and fearless attitude toward the whites than is seen among many other Papuans. Among themselves they were bellicose in the extreme. Every village was on the *qui vive* against attack, and, except during the periods of rather ticklish peace and uncertain friendship, was probably joining in some plan of concerted aggression.

Although the title of this chapter is Warfare, the following pages will deal with indiscriminate fighting and killing as well as with the regular raid. There was no idea of sporting equality of chance when the Orokaiva was bent on killing. I have already given one or two random instances in which the solitary stranger was put to death as a matter of course. It may be fairly doubted whether a party of primitive Orokaiva meeting a lone stranger would hesitate to kill him any more than they would hesitate to kill a bush-pig. Nor does the warrior think it beneath his dignity to kill a woman. One is surprised at the pride which a man evidently takes in the slaughter of defenceless victims. A certain Pahua of Soroputa (one of the early village constables who still wears his uniform) accounted for three victims before he became a guardian of the law. The first was made on a raid on the Hunjovarehu people. The attackers having surrounded the village by night rushed it at morning; Pahua found a man sitting down engaged in eating his breakfast, and speared him before he had time to rise. His second victim was one of a fishing party caught

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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726 Moleyns and his police were attacked in 1901 near Bogi on the Kumusi.[1] He, with a party of seventeen police, and a native corporal, with a party of five, sallied out against the hostile tribesmen, but 'Both simply couldn't make any distance; the natives were so numerous and harassed them every yard they went'. Returning, 'the natives followed them right back to the village and threw spears again from every track notwithstanding there were many dead on each track. This fighting, which was not of a desultory character but continuous and determined, lasted from 3.30 till dark'. Mr. de Moleyns estimated the attacking force at between 400 and 500; and it was thought that not one of the 200 rounds fired by the police was at a greater distance than 50 yards. One of these rounds, at any rate, fired from a Martini Enfield, is claimed to have gone through three men rushing in from a by-track, and another is claimed to have gone through two. Altogether, making allowance for a *soupçon* of exaggeration in the account, it seems obvious that the natives behaved in a very brave, even desperate, manner.

609 648 The Aiga people about Korisata tell a rather amusing story of their first acquaintance with Europeans. A party of miners, with an escort of a few armed police, had pitched their tents on the Upper Opi, and a number of inquisitive savages went to investigate this strange encampment. Among them was a man Kaiora who tells the tale of his adventure with considerable gusto. Watching the camp with his friends he observed several of the miners' signed-on boys who wore *rami*, or short calico skirts. Seeing these *rami*, which in the distance he mistook for the bark-cloth skirt worn by Orokaiva women, Kaiora leapt to the conclusion that the miners' boys *were* women. With a number of others he set off in pursuit, and for greater speed discarded his spear and club, so that he out-distanced his companions. For a moment he had lost sight of the 'women' and was peering about in the bush to see which way they had gone when he suddenly felt himself grasped from behind, and beheld the totally new spectacle of a uniformed policeman. Others came to the policeman's assistance, and

[1] *Annual Report*, 1900–1, pp. 55, 56.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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Kaiora was hastily bound hand and foot to a pole like a pig. Now a white man—the first Kaiora had ever seen—made his appearance, and putting a gun to his shoulder fired a shot in the air. This was presumably to scare away the other Aiga who were not far off, but the prisoner, whether in the moment's distraction caused by the firing of the shot or in a sudden paroxysm of fear at the loud noise, wriggled or burst out of his bonds and made good his escape. The whole party of Aiga had for some reason fled, and were halted in an open space discussing the alarming situation and the loss of one of their number. Suddenly the flying figure of Kaiora appeared in the clearing, and on sight of him the whole body of Aiga set up a shout of terror and fled again, leaving the unhappy fugitive still far behind. Kaiora, a man of early middle age, is marked by premature greyness and an extraordinary wildness of eye which might well date from the time of this terrifying experience. According to himself he gave his friends, when he finally overtook them, an account of this new kind of human being and advised them to put aside their weapons and make peace. Disregarding this good counsel, however, they subsequently stole a cache of food left in a tent by the miners. For the rice and flour they had no use, but the tins of meat were punctured with stone tomahawks and their contents shaken out. This act of depredation brought an expedition from Ioma, and three Aiga men were shot dead. From then on they had a still better reason for fearing the white men, and they accordingly made no desperate resistance but a very sensible peace. I do not know whether we can accept this conclusion to my informant's story, though the rest of it is circumstantial enough to be true. The Aiga were as troublesome as any other tribe to the early whites, indeed it has been said that '. . . the people on the Opi river, between the Mambare and the Kumusi . . . were the worst offenders'; and they are described as 'truculent and aggressive'.[1] On the whole we may conclude that the Aiga as well as the other Orokaiva tribes made a very brave resistance against the white intruders.

[1] J. H. P. Murray in *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 330.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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time during his career to take a human life, as if this were a social imperative, it is not too much to say that every individual aspired to be a man-slayer, and that his success brought him a great deal of honour.

There can be no doubt, however, that revenge was regarded as an obligation, though the obligation might be fulfilled by any one of the victim's group, just as the vengeance itself might fall upon any one of the slayer's group, and not of necessity on the guilty man himself. Vengeance with its expressive name *diroga-mine*[1]—'an exchange of the spirits of the slain'—may have had a supernatural sanction behind it, viz. the possible anger of the unavenged *diroga*, though I have never heard such an explanation expressed; but at any rate the unpaid debt of blood probably entailed a painful sense of inferiority which could only be removed by the satisfaction of killing one of the aggressors.

Needless to say there were no conventions of war, no gratuitous mercy, and no sportingness. Men—young or old—were killed; old women were killed; young women might be raped and killed or borne off to become captive wives; children were killed or made prisoners. Though, on the other hand, there was no gratuitous cruelty, the victims were not tortured; and captive women and children were treated with kindness.

Treachery, of which one or two examples have been given (pp. 166–7), was not regarded as contemptible, and according to Beaver, as we have seen, one kind of homicidal emblem was specially assigned to the slayer of a peace emissary. Towards all outsiders the correct attitude was one of suspicion if not always of hostility; a complete stranger wandering alone would be regarded both as potential enemy and good meat; and when visitors came in friendship, as at a feast, there was never any lack of warlike readiness on either side. The very cries of welcome which are so characteristic of the Orokaiva are possibly a sign of the dormant hostility between guest and host, being recognizable in one case at least as meant for reassurance of the former regarding the intentions of the latter.

[1] See p. 170.

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One feature—almost amusing—in the attitude toward outsiders is a propensity for objurgation—though one does not imply that the Orokaiva swear more ardently than other natives. But the gravest and sternest of men may work himself into a hoarse frenzy, and caper and gesticulate in a perfect abandonment of abuse when he is addressing the enemy on the opposite bank of the river; and strange to say (and here we see a complete contrast with intra-group morality) it is the 'strong-man' who swears the loudest and hurls defiance in the most boastful and abusive terms. The Aiga tribe are not ashamed but proud of their legendary reputation as 'strong-talkers' (p. 158).

Along with this hostility toward outsiders goes an intense pride in the group itself. This, in times of peace as well as war, finds expression in boasting and display. At the *esu*, which is a kind of mock warfare, the fierce harangues of the principals are composed of bragging and derision. They dwell continually on their prowess as fighters, on their mere strength of numbers, and on their material wealth. So much store is set upon the last-mentioned that it must be one of the highest satisfactions in the Orokaiva's life to set forth a great display of garden food and a number of fat pigs before the guests. Accordingly we must allow a place among the extra-group virtues to liberality, albeit by no means free from the taint of self-display. Moreover, one may always perceive a formal courtesy and an observance of all the somewhat noisy rites of hospitality when the guests arrive at a public function, although the several parties may be like tinder awaiting the spark. On the part of the guests themselves there is an almost impressive assumption of gravity while they file in amid the din of welcome, wearing expressions that may vary between complete indifference and a somewhat fierce sternness, but must never betray a glimmer of excitement, least of all a flattered smile. It is their way under the circumstances of evincing their corporate pride and dignity; so they maintain a reserve even in the face of hospitality, as if they almost grudged acknowledgement. But these milder virtues of extra-group morality are unsteady things. Let there be some cause

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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anxious to give what account they could of a subject in which they evidently take a great interest. Indeed, with regard to the Taro cult, informants have almost invariably tried their best to explain matters which are probably as hazy to themselves as to their questioner; for the native keeps few things intentionally secret from the white man save those which he fears will excite disapproval. Buninia began to describe the dream in which, at Taututu, he was first made to realize his possession by the taro spirit. He decided to do so with dramatic effects. Immediately a number of youths flew off to the near-by garden to see to their make-up, while Buninia, his head pillowed for convenience in the lap of Yaviripa, lay on the ground as if asleep. Soon seven or eight young men, gaily bedecked with coloured leaves of *Bayoga*, *Sirori*, and other Taro 'medicines', form up before him. Some carry drums; others have bundles of taro, thrown over arm or shoulder. These youths are the *Ba atiti*, 'spirits of the taro', who appeared in human form to the dreaming Buninia; and they are identified individually with the various kinds of Taro—*Kaiva*, *Porove*, *Ovivi*, and so forth.

Now they beat their drums and begin to dance. Buninia slowly rises, looks in astonishment at the gay figures before him, and then, suddenly shouting '*Ba, ba, ba, ba!*' rushes into the dance. The movements closely resemble those of the conventional Orokaiva *ballet*. The young men, dancing two by two, move gracefully and with that appearance of power which is so admirable a feature of the northern dance; while Buninia, a doddering old man, his person gaily decorated with coloured and scented leaves, whirls swiftly through and around the couples, still shouting his '*Ba, ba, ba!*' When the dance is finished the taro spirits deposit their bundles in a heap and retire. The dream is ended and Buninia (somewhat blown by his exertions) awakes, calls his friends around him, and proceeds to distribute the taro which the spirits have left behind.